M. 613 182 T.P. 613 182

degrees of kinship in the ascending male line, a number equal to the generation count in the minimal lineage; the marriage is patrilocal in residence. The family is patriarchal in authority and the family into which a man is born and the family he raises are one and the same, hence it is an extended family; it acts as a trust, diachronic in orientation. The totality of the kinship relations, inheritance and religious practices, function to perpetuate the line, which is simultaneously that of the lineage and of the family, supporting each other mutually, and being supported in turn by the system of corporate structural principles embodied in them.

Patrilineal Descent and Agnatic Relationship

M. 182 611 T.P. 182 611

In the following pages, a broad geographic area will be covered, and a certain amount of time-depth as well, in tracing the kinship systems of the Mongol and Turkic societies. Nevertheless, a unifying structural feature may be discerned among them all: each of these societies is internally held together by the principle of patrilineal descent; descent in the paternal line is the social cement, and with one or two minor exceptions, there is no phase of the culture, no social relationship which is not founded on it. The economic system, the religious rites and ceremonies, the legal practices, the military and political organizations including the empires, are all based upon the system of agnatic relationships. The

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182
611

M.
T.P.
121

corporate structures of these societies are exclusively patrilineal; and this patrilineal composition, the set of agnatic relationships, has cast the entire kinship system into a distinctive pattern. The thesis of the following pages will be that the kinship systems of the various societies of the Asiatic steppes, the Buryats, the Ordos, the Kalmuks, the Monguor, and the Kazakh-Kirgis, are a series of variations on that pattern, which is an abstraction, nowhere actualized in detail. To trace the working of the patrilineal principle throughout the entire culture, in religion, the economic system, the politico-military organization, is far too broad an undertaking for the present study. However, evidence from these various spheres will be drawn upon to support and deepen the analysis of the kinship system. And thus some insight may be gained into the manner whereby the agnatic relationship constitutes the social nexus, and thereby imposes its characteristic features on every aspect of culture and society on the steppes. The patrilineal, agnatic kinship system of these peoples gives that society its form, and as form, imposes itself on the cultural content, influencing thought, ideology, values, Weltanschauung.

10: Kraeder 8-4 (no date) 1953 AHI Mongolia AHI
Zu. Kalmyk RF4
Turkic Peoples R64

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178
182
M.
614
182
121
T.P.
614
182

logically demonstrable birth, or through the application of a socially recognised fiction. Kirchhoff further distinguishes between "equalitarian" clans and clans in which there are differently valued lines of descent; it is to the second type of clan that the Turko-Mongols belong. The mechanism for the establishment of these differentiations to the satisfaction of the various clan members has been described at length in the foregoing:* the arrangement of ranked collateral lineages based upon the birth order of the founders, in turn based on the principle of primogeniture; the mode of differential inheritance of the various corporeal and incorporeal aspects of the patrimony; these are the basic features of the mechanism for differentiation. Upon this mechanism is superimposed a structural device external to the clan, namely, the differentiation into noble and commoner estates which, however, realize in their turn the principle of differential descent and inheritance, this time rendered fixed and impermeable. Nevertheless, throughout the structure of Turko-Mongol society generally, and Kalmuk society specifically, the practice of tracing descent through genealogical reckoning back to a common ancestor, is the basis of affirming all kinship and social relations, the consanguineal as well as the affinal. By reckoning genealogy and degree of kinship relationship, eligibility to marry is determined, obligation for economic, legal,

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178
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T.P.
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611

* [Cf.cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 228-287 -- Ana/yst]

10: Kradar 8-4 (no date) 1953 AM1 Mongolia AM1
Eu. Kalmyk RF4
Turkic Peoples RL4

Ka. 614 178 182 611 M. 614 182 121 611 T.P. 614 182 611

military support, pasture rights, camping rights, and so forth. The genealogical principle, and the oral tradition upon which it is founded, is the basis for all social relations in the Turko-Mongol clan.

The concept of the clan as a group based upon the exact reckoning of descent in the form of genealogies (leaving aside the question of "truth" or accuracy of the genealogy) is contrasted with that of the named sib. The distinction upon which this contrast is based derives from a formulation proposed by Lowie: the sib, as he analyzes it, is a unilateral kinship group, i.e., tracing descent from either parent, but not both. The specific principle he brings to bear is the inheritance of a name, e.g., Smith, from either the father in a patri-sib, or the mother in a matri-sib, and this is all that is necessary for admission to membership in the given sib system.[148] Both the genealogical clan and the named sib are exogamic units, either in their totality, or in some operative sub-division of theirs which is based on the same respective principle, e.g., an exogamic lineage in the case of the clan as here defined.

Ka. 178 614

The Kalmuk social structure as presented in independently corroborative reports for the 20th century departed from the clan principle and conformed to that of the sib.

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[148] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111-112. Cf. also Lowie, Family and Sib, 28-40.